

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1531

RUEKJCYAXSECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 1075

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: DISCUSSION WITH SOVIET AND EASTERN
EUROPEAN REPS FEBRUARY 6, 1974

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF TALKING POINTS BASED ON
AGREED ALLIED TACTICS PAPER AND APPROVED BY AD HOC
GROUP PRIOR TO USE WHICH WAS PRESENTED BY US REP TO
SOVIET, POLISH AND CZECH REPS AT INFORMAL SESSION
FEBRUARY 6. DETAILS OF DISCUSSION IN SEPTTEL.

BEGIN TEXT:

1. WE HAVE SUGGESTED THIS INFORMAL GATHERING BECAUSE
WE FEEL IT IS TIME TO GET DOWN TO MORE PRODUCTIVE
DISCUSSION ON THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS.
DISCUSSION OF THIS KIND SHOULD BE MORE DETAILED AND MORE
SYSTEMATICALLY PURSUED THAN CHANCE BILATERAL CONVERSATIONS.

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IT SHOULD BE A REAL DIALOGUE, RATHER THAN UNILATERAL

PRESENTATIONS BY BOTH SIDES WITHOUT OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT AND TO POSE QUESTIONS.

2. BUT EVEN IF THERE IS A MUTUAL DESIRE TO START A REAL DIALOGUE, IT HAS TO BE RECOGNIZED THAT THERE ARE MAJOR DIFFERENCES IN THE APPROACHES OF BOTH SIDES.

3. WE THEREFORE BELIEVE IT IS PREMATURE AND UNREALISTIC AT THIS POINT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS TO EXPECT THAT EITHER SIDE WOULD BE WILLING TO MAKE IMPORTANT CONCESSIONS IN PRINCIPLE NOW.

4. YET THERE IS A PRACTICAL NEED TO BEGIN THE MORE PRODUCTIVE AND DETAILED DISCUSSION I MENTION AT SOME SPECIFIC POINT ON THE SPECTRUM OF ISSUES INVOLVED IN THESE TALKS.

5. WE THINK THIS SITUATION CALLS FOR AN INFORMAL PROCEDURAL UNDERSTANDING TO BEGIN THE PROCESS OF EAST-WEST DISCUSSION, AS DISTINCT FROM UNILATERAL PRESENTATIONS BY EACH SIDE.

6. THIS PROCEDURAL UNDERSTANDING WOULD BE AN INFORMAL AND ORAL ONE. IT WOULD BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO, OR ACCEPTANCE OF, THE SUBSTANTIVE ELEMENTS OF THE PROGRAM OF EITHER SIDE.

7. ONCE AGAIN, OUR IDEA IS TO FIND A PRACTICAL WAY TO GET REAL DISCUSSION STARTED AT SOME SPECIFIC POINT ON THE RANGE OF PROBLEMS THAT CONFRONT US. WE HAVE TO MAKE A BEGINNING SOMEWHERE.

8. OUR SUGGESTION IS THAT PROCESS OF EAST-WEST DISCUSSION SHOULD BEGIN BY TALKING ABOUT US-SOVIET GROUND FORCES. WHATEVER THEIR DIFFERENCES IN OTHER REGARDS, BOTH WESTERN AND EASTERN APPROACHES SUGGEST THERE SHOULD BE REDUCTIONS IN U.S. AND SOVIET FORCES FROM THE OUTSET, AND THEY ALSO PROVIDE FOR REDUCTION OF GROUND FORCES. THIS APPEARS TO BE A POINT OF SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE TWO APPROACHES.

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9. I WOULD LIKE TO POINT OUT WE ARE SUGGESTING ONLY A PROCEDURAL UNDERSTANDING ON A SINGLE ISSUE, NAMELY, THE QUESTION OF ON WHAT TOPIC MORE ACTIVE DISCUSSION OF THE SUBJECT MATTER COULD START. WHAT WOULD BE INVOLVED IN THIS PROCEDURAL UNDERSTANDING IS YOUR WILLINGNESS TO REFRAIN, IF ONLY TEMPORARILY, FROM RAISING IN THESE INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS CERTAIN ASPECTS

OF YOUR OWN PROGRAM, NAMELY, INCLUSION OF NATIONAL FORCES, AS YOU CALL THEM, AND OF AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES. THIS WOULD BE AN EXPERIMENT FOR BOTH SIDES. BY REFRAINING FROM PRESENTING THE ASPECTS OF YOUR PROGRAM I HAVE MENTIONED FOR A TEMPORARY PERIOD, YOU WOULD NOT BE FOREGOING YOUR RIGHT TO RAISE THEM. MOREOVER, THIS PROPOSAL DOES NOT COVER PLENARY PRESENTATIONS. THERE WE EXPECT BOTH SIDES WILL DESIRE TO CONTINUE DEVELOPING THEIR OVERALL PROGRAM IN ITS PRESENT FORM.

10. THIS APPROACH SEEMS TO US A PRACTICAL WAY TO MAKE A SPECIFIC START SOMEWHERE. THE ALLIES, TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR SINCERITY IN WISHING TO START A MORE PRODUCTIVE DIALOGUE AND THEIR DESIRE TO MOVE THE NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD, ARE PREPARED TO GIVE YOU CERTAIN CLARIFICATIONS AS TO QUESTIONS YOU HAVE RAISED CONCERNING OUR APPROACH TO THESE TALKS.

11. ON THIS POINT, CERTAIN EASTERN CONCERNS WERE EXPRESSED TO US DURING THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS IN THE COURSE OF INFORMAL DISCUSSION OF THE WESTERN TWO-PHASE APPROACH. IT WAS INDICATED TO US THAT THERE MIGHT BE MORE WILLINGNESS TO AGREE TO START WITH US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS FIRST, IF THE SITUATION WERE CLEARER WITH RESPECT TO CERTAIN EASTERN CONCERNS, SUCH AS CONFIDENCE THAT A SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS WOULD IN FACT

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS FROM US REP MBFR

TAKE PLACE, AND CONFIDENCE THAT OTHER FORCES WOULD BE COVERED IN A SECOND PHASE IF THE FIRST PHASE WAS LIMITED TO US-SOVIET FORCES. WE ARE PREPARED TONIGHT TO GIVE YOU SOME CLARIFICATIONS ON THESE POINTS. WE THINK THEY WILL MAKE THE FUTURE CLEARER AND THEREFORE MAKE IT EASIER FOR YOU TO ENGAGE IN THE PROCEDURAL APPROACH WE ARE SUGGESTING.

12. I WANT TO POINT OUT AGAIN THAT, BY AGREEING TO THE INFORMAL PROCEDURAL UNDERSTANDING WE PROPOSE, YOU WOULD NOT BE AGREEING TO ACCEPT ANY ASPECT OF OUR SUBSTANTIVE PROGRAM. NOR WOULD YOU BE ASKED TO FOREGO ANY ASPECT OF YOUR OWN PROGRAM. YOU WOULD ONLY BE ASKED TO TEMPORARILY REFRAIN FROM PRESENTING SOME ASPECTS OF IT IN THE INTEREST OF ENABLING MUTUAL DISCUSSION OF A TOPIC WHICH IS A LEAST COMMON TO BOTH
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APPROACHES.

13. I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THAT WE HAVE IN MIND ONLY A LIMITED AND INFORMAL PROCEDURAL UNDERSTANDING. IT WOULD BE A SMALL PRACTICAL STEP INTENDED TO GET DISCUSSION GOING. WE ARE NOT ASKING CONCESSIONS ON SUBSTANCE FROM YOU.

14. I WOULD LIKE TO STOP AT THIS POINT TO ASK WHETHER THE GENERAL OUTLINE OF OUR PROPOSAL IS CLEAR TO YOU. IF IT IS, I WILL GO ON TO QUESTION OF CLARIFICATIONS.

15. I HAVE SAID THAT WE WOULD BE ABLE TO GIVE YOU SOME CLARIFICATIONS WHICH WOULD SERVE TO ASSURE YOU THAT A SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS WOULD IN FACT BE HELD AND WHICH WOULD DEAL WITH YOUR CONCERNS AS REGARDS PARTICIPATION. ON THIS SUBJECT, I CAN MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS.

A. FIRST, IN ORDER TO MEET THE DOUBTS YOU

HAVE EXPRESSED AS TO WHETHER THERE WOULD ACTUALLY BE A PHASE II IN THE EVENT OF A SUCCESSFUL PHASE I, WE HAVE MENTIONED TO YOU IN OUR PLENARY PRESENTATION ON JANUARY 17 THAT A PHASE I AGREEMENT WOULD CONTAIN AN EXPLICIT PROVISION COVERING THIS SUBJECT, THAT IS A LINKAGE PROVISION COMMITTING THE WESTERN ALLIES TO HOLD A SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS.

B. SECOND, I CAN NOW ADD THAT, AT A SUITABLE TIME LATER IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS, IF ADEQUATE PROGRESS IS MADE IN THE MEANWHILE, WE WILL BE WILLING TO DISCUSS WITH YOU THE SPECIFIC LANGUAGE AND FORMULATIONS OF THE PROVISION IN THE PHASE I AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD COVER THE TOPIC OF LINKAGE BETWEEN THE TWO PHASES OF NEGOTIATIONS.

C. THIRD, IN RESPONSE TO YOUR QUESTIONS ABOUT WHETHER WESTERN EUROPEAN FORCES WOULD BE COVERED IN THE SECOND PHASE, I CAN ALSO MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINT: AS YOU KNOW, ACCORDING TO OUR SECRET

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CONCEPT, PHASE I WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY A SECOND PHASE WHOSE PURPOSE WOULD BE TO COMPLETE THE MOVEMENT TO A GROUND FORCE COMMON CEILING AT AN AGREED LEVEL, WHICH WE HAVE SUGGESTED BE SET AT 7000,000 MEN. WE CAN TELL YOU THAT, IF BOTH SIDES CAN DECIDE ON A SATISFACTORY PHASE I AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD INCLUDE AGREEMENT ON THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT, THEN THE PHASE II REDUCTIONS WOULD ON THE ALLIED SIDE FOCUS ON THE FORCES OF OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS.

16. WE HOPE THAT THESE CLARIFICATIONS INCREASE YOUR CONFIDENCE THAT OUR TWO-PHASE APPROACH IS SOUNDLY AND RESPONSIBLY CONCEIVED AND DOES NOT CONCEAL AN INTENTION TO BE EVASIVE.

17. WE REALIZE THAT THESE CLARIFICATIONS DO NOT FULLY MEET YOUR INTEREST ON SUBSTANCE, NOR WERE THEY INTENDED TO. AT THIS STAGE, WE ARE ONLY PROPOSING THE START OF A DIALOGUE ON US-SOVIET GROUND FORCES. WE ARE NOT ASKING YOU TO CHANGE YOUR VIEWS ABOUT HOW FORCES CAN BE REDUCED, ALTHOUGH WE HOPE TO PERSUADE YOU IN THIS DIRECTION. AND WE ARE NOT ASKING YOU TO GIVE UP ANY OF THE ELEMENTS IN YOUR OWN PROPOSALS AT THIS STAGE. WE ARE ONLY ASKING YOU TO TEMPORARILY REFRAIN FROM RAISING THESE INTERESTS IN ORDER TO GET AN EXPLORATORY DIALOGUE STARTED.

18. WHAT WE HAVE IN MIND IS AN EXPERIMENT. IF,
AFTER WE HAVE SOME DISCUSSIONS BASED ON THESE
PROPOSED GROUND RULES, EITHER YOU OR WE ARE NOT
SATISFIED THAT THEY ARE PRODUCTIVE, EITHER CAN RETURN
TO THE UNILATERAL PRESENTATION OF THEIR VIEWPOINTS
WITHOUT DAMAGE OR PREJUDICE TO THOSE VIEWPOINTS AND
WITHOUT BAD FEELINGS.

19. WE BELIEVE THE EXPERIMENT WE SUGGEST WOULD
BE IN THE MUTUAL INTEREST. WE HOPE YOU WILL GIVE
SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO THIS IDEA. WE WOULD BE
GLAD TO HEAR YOUR REACTIONS TO IT WHEN YOU ARE READY
TO GIVE THEM, OR TO ANSWER POSSIBLE QUESTIONS.

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